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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'POLITIKA' VIEWS HUNGARIAN DISCUSSIONS ON DEMOCRACY

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 77 p 3 AU

[Report by Milos Corovic]

[Summary] Budapest--"The discussions conducted here on the topic 'democracy and socialism' are more and more bringing to the fore the belief that this social system must not be afraid of democracy, that on the contrary, democracy represents an inevitable law of its further development in the direction of 'the developed socialism' and that the only thing that should be discussed constructively and effectively is that other topic, that is, the question of how the citizens' right to be consulted as much as possible about the essential directions and problems of development at this important stage should be fulfilled as completely as possible.

"In addition to this basic question, many other questions have also been raised: How should the mechanism of criticism be built into the society to insure that it will be a useful driving force for responsible and purposeful discussions; how can all members of society, including even those 'who do not as yet see all things clearly,' be enabled to participate in deliberations about public affairs and thus find themselves 'with us' and not 'beside us'; how can the democratic character of discussions be insured in a way that will discourage any speaking from 'the position of authority'; how in fact must one initiate the dialog in which it is arguments and not personalities that win; and finally, how can it be insured that a person convinced through discussions of the correctness of someone's else view will not simultaneously be also 'a defeated person?'

"What Is What?"

"The Hungarians proceed from the premise that truth 'is born on the ground of reality' but that precisely Marxism-Leninism helps insure that this reality is more effectively perceived and studied and that development is then directed by a general line, not all stages of which are easily foreseeable if theory is not daily confronted with reality and does not take account of reality." These discussions inevitably lead to "the need to determine the

concept of democracy through the role of the state and the party, the two basic levers the treatment of which is considered to be a very sensitive matter." As a theoretician recently wrote in an article in the journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE, "The party is here 'to tailor the general line' of development, but its participation in power and administration amounts to insuring as much autonomy as possible for them. The general conclusion is the following: The party and the state act in the same direction but the party and the state are not one and the same thing.

According to the understanding here, this autonomy which is being created or which it is wished will be created on a broad front is not identical to the withering away of the state just as it does not represent an encouragement for the state authority to extend beyond the framework of control. For this reason the spheres (science and some others) in which many things can be decided with the participation of social factors (various associations, federations and so forth), that is, without the participation of the administration, are already being indicated or determined here. And the demands that the administration must not be 'the authority' but rather 'a service for citizens' are becoming increasingly more conspicuous here."

In the Hungarian view, certain measures of social control, which should be taken, should lead to the working people's participation in preparing decisions and in decisionmaking through involvement in the people's front, the trade unions and other more or less institutionalized forms. As TARSADALMI SZEMLE stated recently, the manner in which a decision of general social interest is formed here through public discussion could be considered by a liberal yardstick as a process that would require two or three different parties in a different social system. It is also in this context that "Special importance is attached to the formation of public opinion. In a word, as things are conceived here, the party must cultivate within its own framework some kind of 'an opposition' to prevent the internal life from becoming apathetic in an atmosphere of nodding heads and the avoiding of any offense."

For this reason criticism is considered a beneficial means which should be given wider scope. All that is demanded in this respect is that criticism must not be directed against socialism and that must not exhaust itself in hollow statements and the formation of [small] groups. All in all, these "Hungarian discussions, which in this manner point more openly than ever to those still uncharted paths along which the internal development should progress, are an expression of the need to shape the unity of the nation, once achieved under the new conditions, in a way that makes the deepening of the socialist democracy an unavoidable and essential prerequisite. In this process of searching for and finding new solutions and more substantive internal life, discussion and criticism are less and less considered as an element with a destructive effect and more and more as a true socialist catalyst and stimulus."

MORE PARTY SPIRIT NEEDED IN HISTORY STUDIES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by Stefanaz Pollo: "Toward the Further Strengthening of Proletarian Partisanship in History Studies"]

[Text] The Party's materials and Comrade Enver's Works on our historical science have always been not only generalizing documents on a high ideological and scientific level and a directional compass for correctly evaluating historical periods, events, phenomena and personalities, but also fundamental documentation for contemporary history.

Comrade Enver's report to the seventh party congress marks a new and distinguished contribution to the treasure of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought of our party and opens up new paths and prospects for the social sciences in general and the science of history in particular.

The seventh party congress made a positive evaluation of historical scientific production: "...a number of valuable studies have been made in the field of social problems, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, and Albanian history, archeology and language." This evaluation is an encouragement and a powerful stimulus for the further advancement of history studies and the growth of the quantity and quality of scientific production, reinforcing proletarian partisanship and placing our studies entirely in the service of the people, of socialism.

Our historical sciences have grown on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology and the party's teachings, which are a creative development of Marxism under the concrete conditions of our country and the present international situation. On this basis and thanks to the unstinted aid of our socialist state, the historical sciences have obtained good results.

These results have been achieved, among other things, in continuous ideological struggle with the idealistic and subjectivistic views of historiographic traditionalism, both native and foreign, and with the influences of contemporary bourgeois and revisionists trends. This has kept them abreast of the tasks set by the times.



The list of historical subjects specified in the five-year plan correctly interprets the tasks set by the seventh party congress. "An important field," it was stated at the congress, "comprises studies on the history, life, language and cultural and artistic traditions of our people."

At the center of our historical scientific research has been the history of the Albanian people from the most ancient times down to our days. From the great number and variety of still not thoroughly studied subjects concerning the age-old history of our people we have chosen those which best respond to the present needs for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses because of their content and character.

In this connection, it is worthwhile to take note of the emphasis laid at the congress on the need for studies on the life and cultural and artistic traditions of our people. This refers to the special importance attached by the party to studies on Albanian society, the economic and social development of the country, and the various aspects of the people's life and culture.

If we cast a glance at the list of subjects regarding the history studies thus far, we find that political history themes have predominated therein. These have, of course, been necessary and will continue to be so in the future. But the time has now come to increase the number of deep special studies of an economic and social character. As is known, these are more difficult, and require much more time to do and a well qualified ideo-professional training, but they are indispensable not only because they treat a fundamental side of the people's history, but also because they form the basis on which studies in political and cultural history are grounded, the basis which makes it possible to interpret rightly the phenomena of the superstructure.

An important place in the studies on the life and cultural and artistic traditions of the people is occupied by archeological and ethnographic studies and those on popular art and architecture. The task set by the seventh party congress makes it necessary to view the problem of popular and national culture not only as a purely scientific problem, but also as a problem of an urgent and timely political and ideological character connected with the fight against the attempts of the imperialists and social-imperialists to disseminate the ideas of cosmopolitanism and to "internationalize" arts and culture.

From its very beginning the party has continually displayed care for the preservation and development of the popular national culture. Applying its teachings, the archeologists, ethnographers and students of popular art and architecture have for entire years untiringly collected and lovingly preserved the wonderful cultural values of the Albanian people. It is incumbent upon our students during the new five-year period to take an important step forward in this respect. The country's rapid economic and social development makes it necessary to speed up the rate and opening up to the masses the collection of objects of popular tradition by such geographic expansion as to document to the utmost the variety and national unity of our people's culture.

The need for wider and deeper studies of cultural and artistic traditions also poses the problem of reexamining the situation in the field of research in the history of art and architecture from the earliest times down to our days and of reorganizing it with a view to strengthening it and especially coordinating the existing research and its list of subjects--an urgent task that must be resolved by the institutions concerned.

A very important task was set at the seventh party congress for the social sciences when it emphasized that "their fundamental object should be the study and scientific generalization of the revolutionary thought and practice of the party and our people." This party orientation also relates to the field of history studies, the updating of scientific historical themes,--a problem which has for some years been in the center of attention.

The updating of subjects, we believe, must be viewed in its two basic aspects: the broadening of the present list of subjects as compared with that of past times, and the strengthening of proletarian partisanship and class tendentiousness in studies of all historical periods.

It may rightly be asserted that in this respect an important turnabout took place years ago and is becoming ever more thorough-going. Thus, out of more than 400 study articles, documentary digests, popular scientific works, monographs, memoirs and generalizing historical works published during the past 5 years, over 30 percent pertain to the history of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and socialist construction. The criticism made by Comrade Enver about the social sciences in January of 1968 and the order that he gave to turn our faces toward timely problems have helped to form a new concept about the importance and great molding and educating role of up-to-date studies. With the Sixth Five-Year Plan, another step forward is being made in expanding the up-to-date list of subjects.

The second side of this problem has to do with the ideological and scientific elevation of history studies, grounded on the theoretical thinking and methodological orientations of our party and Comrade Enver. This is a complex problem that can only yield the desired results if viewed and resolved in all its many aspects. The strengthening of proletarian partisanship and class tendentiousness in the historical sciences demands above all high qualification on the part of the historians themselves, the organization of confrontations and scientific debates, the wide application of the principle of collectivization in scientific work, the development of open criticism in the press both against alien manifestations in our historical treatises and against the theoretical and ideological distortions of foreign historiography.

The ways that have been followed and are being followed in insuring the ideological qualification of the cadres are varied, extending from individual study, theoretical seminars, informative literature and reports to first-degree tests of qualification. But the many years' experience of the Institute of History has shown that one of the most effective forms of ideological elevation and scientific qualification of scientific workers

is discussion, in various agencies, of all the papers prepared for the press. And still more fruitful are the discussions organized within the framework of theoretical seminars, in which scientific production is examined through the prism of specific theoretical problems that have been treated and thoroughly assimilated beforehand. This is and must continue to be in the future a continuing method of work alongside of others. On the other hand, the method of discussion, of confrontation of opinions in a collegial and friendly spirit makes it possible for the individual to profit from the aid of the collective, which cannot be provided by individual qualification. The application of the principle of collectivism to ideological elevation and scientific qualification is application of the line of the masses in this field. To this method, which has now become traditional, is due a good part of the successes achieved in our sciences.

The involvement of our historical science in the great ideological fight now being waged by the party on the national and international plane poses for that science the task not only of continually perfecting its Marxist methodology, but also of being, from the ideological viewpoint, a science incompatible with the shortcomings, weaknesses and alien influences noted in our studies and engaged in open attack upon the distortions of bourgeois and revisionist historiography and their anti-Albanian views. We have to admit that Albanian historiography, which has performed well its first task, namely that of continually perfecting Marxist methodology, has not been equal to the second, that of public criticism of the weaknesses and shortcomings in our studies. Where our publications are concerned, it is more a presentation of materials, information about the content of the work than a critical analysis. Bibliographic information is necessary, but it should not cover up historical criticism, which, when published in our organs, has a positive effect on the mass of specialists and readers in raising their ideological level and sharpening their critical eye on the basis of the materials and the concrete questions of our history.

There is no doubt that the workers in our historical sciences, guided by the Marxist methodology and the party's teachings, will give the people ever more worthy works such as are demanded by our socialist epoch.

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CSO: 2100

ANNIVERSARY OF 1922 EDUCATION CONGRESS CELEBRATED

Tirana MESUESI in Albanian 20 Jul 77 p 4

[Article by Fatmira Rama].

[Text] The Educational Congress of Tirana was held 55 years ago, on 22 July 1922 in an atmosphere of struggle between the democratic and the reactionary forces. That congress was a component part of the broad democratic movement embracing all fields of life in the country after the Lushnje congress, where internal contradictions had held the foreground. In particular, that congress was a part of the struggle waged to democratize our schools. In this field, the struggle had been concentrated mainly in the following three directions: 1. the preservation and strengthening of the national character of the schools; 2. the state character of the schools; and 3. their lay character.

The Educational Congress of Lushnje in 1920 contributed to a partial solution of those three tasks, especially the preservation and strengthening of the national character of our schools. Thus, a decision was taken to unify the programs of all the schools of Albania into a single one, which would rescind the school programs that had been imposed upon our schools by the occupying powers, during the World War I. But this decision was not complete: public and lay character of our schools was still not insured. Even after that congress, there remained private schools in our country, especially the private religious schools. The children were kept divided according to faiths and the teaching of religion occupied an important place in the school program.

In view of the reactionary nature and unscientific content of religion, it is understandable how much damage was done by the teaching of religion to the national character of our schools and to the patriotic education of the pupils. The chauvinistic policy of the foreign states also penetrated into the schools through the religious schools and religious subjects, being subsidized by the directors of the clergy of the three faiths. And it was here that the struggle of the democratic forces supported by the masses of the people was concentrated.

As a result of the efforts of the democratic forces, on the eve of the Educational Congress of Tirana the government was obliged to issue a decision to close the private schools and withdraw the compensations paid to the clerics for religious instruction.

Within the framework of those democratic victories, the educational congress opened on 22 July 1922 in Tirana, attended by 40 educators, including A. Xhuvani, S. Ceka, A. Gashi, S. Shuteriqi, J. Minga, and so forth. It is noteworthy that none of the clerics giving instruction in religion in the private schools was invited to the congress.

The congress forcefully demanded the nationalization of the private schools, as was decided on 7 July 1922, and adopted the new educational system. It likewise demanded that measures be taken to enforce compulsory primary education (on which a decision had been taken at the Lushnje congress), adopted a new school program, and so forth.

In general, the decisions of that congress were democratic, progressive and in accord with the demands set by the times. Of special importance was the new school program, particularly with regard to laicization and the preservation and strengthening of the national character of our schools. In that program, the subject of religion was separated from morality, which was to be given as an independent subject together with civic information; the hours of religious instruction were reduced 50 percent. This struck a heavy blow at the antinational stand of the clergy in the field of education as well, and especially its demands for "educational autonomy."

The program was built on more scientific and national criteria. More importance was given to such subjects as the history of Albania, geography, physics, mathematics, and so forth. The program was made to include the subjects of agriculture and practical work in orchards, and instruction in handicrafts. In the field of methods, importance was attached to the principle of concretizing instruction.

The reactionary forces, the feudal bourgeoisie and the clergy--the Catholic clergy with particular ferocity--rose up immediately against these correct decisions. This reaction, supported also by the government (Zog was minister of the interior), in which reactionary tendencies were growing in strength, and exploiting the weaknesses of the democratic wing of the bourgeoisie, succeeded in preventing those decisions from being enforced. For example, the decision to close the private schools was annulled; the question of withdrawing the subject of religion from the schools was not submitted to the congress; the "Union of the League of Teachers" included in the agenda was not created; and so forth.

The new school program, in which the clerical reaction saw dark prospects for the teaching of religion in the schools, was the object of fierce attacks. Clearly evident in the fight waged against the common schools and the separation of morality from religious instruction in the schools was the clergy's

fear of the national unity of our people as an important factor for their social liberation as well. They declared that the common schools were a factory of communists.

Beside the limitations resulting from the weaknesses of the democratic forces of the times in our country, one must also stress the limited class character of the demands and the decisions taken by the congress. Thus, the law on the new educational system adopted by the congress clearly showed the contrast between rural and urban schools (in towns, the primary school was to be 6-year, in the country only 5-year, which prevented rural children from getting a full education).

In spite of these limitations, the Educational Congress of Tirana was of special importance and made some forward strides toward the strengthening of the national and lay character of our schools. It also marked the further development of Albanian pedagogic thinking and, within the framework of the general struggle being waged at that time to democratize the country's life, it gave an impetus to that struggle and vitalized the political life of the country.

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CSO: 2100

PROCESS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN AFRICA EXAMINED

Sofia POLITICHESKA PROSVETA in Bulgarian No 88, 1977 pp 102-109

[Article by Docent Khristo Mashkov: "The Revolutionary Process in Tropical and Southern Africa"]

[Text] 1. The Decisive Clash With Colonialism and Racism

In recent years, the attention of the world community has been attracted to the events in Tropical and Southern Africa. Precisely in this region of the continent which occupies the lands to the south of the Sahara as far as Cape of Good Hope have remained the last centers of colonial slavery and racism, and a strong movement has commenced among the suppressed peoples for liberty, national independence and social progress. As a result of this struggle supported actively by the USSR and the other fraternal socialist states, many peoples have succeeded in freeing themselves and have given a socialist orientation to the development of their countries. All of this has reflected favorably on the development of the African continent, and has been of great significance also for the development of the revolutionary process throughout the world.

However, the positions of imperialism in certain countries of this region are still strong. Over the decades, the African continent has served as the supplier of mineral raw materials to the capitalist world. The economic backwardness, the actual absence of domestic industry and the acute need for capital have facilitated the penetration of the foreign monopolies into the sphere of natural riches. The conditions for the extracting of these riches and the presence of cheap manpower provide the foreign monopolies with an opportunity to extract the highest profits in the world.

The African countries from the region of the Tropics and the South are of interest for the imperialists in political and military terms as well. In political terms, their aim is above all to prevent a further growth in the influence of socialism and to attack the progressive movements. In military terms, the imperialist powers are endeavoring to maintain and enlarge their military bases in the aim of strengthening their positions and providing control over navigation in the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

The sociohistorical processes in Tropical and Southern Africa are extremely complicated, because the struggle against the remains of colonialism has still not been fully completed. It is a question above all of the Republic of South Africa (RSA), Namibia and Rhodesia, where pro-colonial and racist regimes are in power. The struggle of the indigenous population of these countries for human rights and true independence at present is entering the decisive phase. It can be said with certainty that the hour has come for the final liberation of the peoples of Africa.

Rhodesia is one of the nations where the contradictions are presently the most acute. Under the powerful impact of the successful struggle of the peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the people of Zimbabwe are insisting decisively on the elimination of the racist regime of Ian Smith and the turning over of power into their hands. In the course of the growing national liberation struggle, the workers in the country are strengthening unity for the sake of a common struggle against racism. An expression of this unity is the unification of the four national liberation groupings: the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), The African National Council (ANS) and the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) which presently numbers more than 15,000 partisans into the single National Liberation Front. The created patriotic front under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe and its recognition as the sole representative of the Zimbabwe people by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) opens up new opportunities for decisive pressure on the Smith regime and for the developing of the partisan struggle.

The basic demand of the Patriotic Front is the transfer of power to the African population prior to 1 December 1977. The white racists, in counting exclusively on the help of the imperialists, are resisting this demand and have even foiled the Geneva Conference on the Rhodesian Question.

The decision of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front to intensify the armed struggle is supported by the progressive community not only in Africa, but also throughout the world. This was emphasized particularly clearly at the Arab-African Summit Conference which was held in Cairo.

The racist Vorster regime in South Africa has also been subjected to strong blows. First of all the resistance movement inside the nation against racism and apartheid has grown, and this has developed into a spontaneous uprising. The people have risen in Namibia which is being illegally plundered by the South African racists, and this country is insisting decisively on independence. This is being aided by the achieved unification of the national patriotic forces. Nine African political parties in Namibia have announced their dissolution and have joined the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO). The detachments of SWAPO have commenced active combat from the north to the south of the country. The broad unification of the national forces in Namibia shows that the political maturity of the population is growing and that South Africa cannot create a puppet government in this "internal colony." It must be kept in mind that SWAPO is the only organization of the Namibian people recognized by the United Nations and the OAU.



The struggle of the South African peoples against racism and neocolonialism is constantly growing. No atrocities by the South African and Rhodesian racists nor the maneuvers which imperialist diplomacy carries out will compel the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to abandon their historic right to liberty, independence and equal rights.

## 2. From National to Social Revolution

A larger portion of the countries in Tropical and Southern Africa has already won its independence (Guinea, Zambia, Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, the People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Somali, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Malagasy Republic and others). But imperialism has not accepted the defeat which it has suffered. It is making desperate attempts to stop the development of the liberation struggle and to maintain and reinforce its positions on the continent. Regardless of the contradictions between the imperialist powers, they are united on the main political and strategic tasks. This was best demonstrated in relation to the liberation struggle of the Angolan people. On this issue the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, said in the report to the 25th CPSU Congress the following: "Having scarcely been born, this progressive state has become the object of foreign interventions, and this is the work of imperialism and the South African racists, the avowed enemies of independent Africa...."<sup>1</sup>

The unified strategy of the imperialist powers is also manifested in relation to the events in the Republic of Zaire, a nation rich in mineral resources, including uranium. The successes which were achieved by the rebels in Shaba Province (the former Katanga) have frightened the imperialists. For this reason, the United States and France, West Germany and Belgium, together with the reactionary regimes of certain African countries and with assistance from the Maoists have intervened directly or indirectly into the internal affairs of Zaire, and have done everything possible to suppress the revolt and to strengthen the reactionary regime of President Mobutu.

It is becoming more and more apparent to the African peoples that the struggle against imperialism and its neo-colonialist policy must be continued with unflagging force. It is clear that without full economic independence, there can be no actual national independence. For this reason, at present, the efforts of these nations and peoples are focused on the problems of socioeconomic liberation.

It can be said with certainty that the revolutionary process in Tropical and Southern Africa has entered a new stage. National liberation revolutions are quite naturally beginning to develop into profoundly social revolutions aimed both against the feudal rulers as well as against capitalist exploiting relations. For a majority of the young national states, and above all for the workers in these countries, it has become a more and more apparent fact that capitalism, as a social system, is unable to

provide either true economic progress or to solve the other social and political problems which are confronting them in all their acuteness.

The hopes of the bourgeois ideologists and politicians that the African countries will become a strong reserve for the "injecting of a new fresh supply of blood into capitalism," and for its rejuvenation and renewal have remained in vain. The profound disturbances which present-day capitalism is experiencing are frightening off more and more peoples in the developing countries from the capitalist system. On the other hand, the continuous advances of real socialism in all areas of life are making it a truly attractive center around which all the progressive forces of our planet are rallying. Socialism is becoming the sense and content of the struggle of millions of people from the countries of the former colonial system of imperialism. The most vivid expression of this is the rejection of capitalism by a number of countries in the so-called "Third World" and the accepting of a socialist orientation.

This historic process is developing most dynamically in Tropical and Southern Africa. There is the largest number of countries with a socialist orientation. Along with Guinea, the People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and the Somali Democratic Republic which have undergone a certain path of noncapitalist development, in the last several years this line has been taken up in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Benin, the Malagasy Republic and Ethiopia. There is a number of other states in this region which, although not following the path of a socialist orientation, are definitely against capitalism, and are in the process of seeking out a new path of salvation. Among them, one could mention Zambia, Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, and others.

The revolutionary process in this region is a natural phenomenon caused, on the one hand, by objective development in these countries, and on the other, by the change in the balance of forces throughout the world in favor of progress and socialism. World socialism is undoubtedly of the greatest significance for its success, as without this both the liberation from colonialism as well as the development of the young national states along the path of social progress would be impossible.

Characteristic for the socialist orientation in the African countries is the fact that this is being carried out under the conditions of the absence of a broad proletarian movement, with a poorly organized, political state of the workers movement, and at the same time with energetic political activities by the petty bourgeois and other nonproletarian strata and above all the revolutionary intelligentsia.

The changes which have occurred and are occurring in the countries with progressive regimes represent a process of historic importance. The old socioeconomic and political structures which have outlived their times are collapsing. In the countries with a socialist orientation, an ever greater place is given to the tasks of creating an independent economy. The essence

of the changes which have occurred in these countries has been defined in the accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress in the following manner: "A shifting of the center of gravity in industrial development to the state sector, the elimination of feudal landowning, the nationalization of foreign enterprises in the aim of establishing the effective sovereignty of the young national states over their natural riches, and the creating of their own personnel.... This naturally is a process of historic importance."<sup>2</sup>

And in actuality, in the countries with a socialist orientation, an ever greater place is given to the economic problems. Decisive significance is paid to the planned development of the state and cooperative sector in the national economy. Local large capital is being restricted and gradually eliminated, and economic cooperation with the socialist countries is developing.

One of the most complicated problems which must be settled by these countries is the feeding of a rapidly increasing population. This depends primarily upon the development of agriculture. In this area important changes have been underway for years. The essence of these changes consists in eliminating feudal and prefeudal landowning, the distribution of land to the landless and small peasantry, and the development of cooperative forms of farming, and above all production cooperatives.

For example, in Tanzania cooperatives are being formed widely in agriculture. The so-called "Ujamaa" cooperatives are being set up, and in translation this means "large" or even "socialist" village. According to the "Ujamaa" Charter, the peasants are to be united in the production process. In the country there are already more than 7,000 "Ujamaa" with around 10 million peasants comprising 65 percent of the rural population. In forming these cooperatives and for their strengthening and development, the positive traditions of communal working of the land which have survived over the centuries are being used.

In the Guinean Democratic Republic, they are going on to a higher type of agricultural cooperative in which "mechanized production brigades" having equipment and seed are formed. With the help of the remaining peasants, these cooperatives work certain areas of land on a comparatively high technical level.

In Somali, production cooperatives are being created from the nomadic livestock raisers. This puts an end to the nomadic way of life, and productive livestock raising and farming begins to be developed. In this instance it is characteristic that the government first built the necessary structures and then moved in the nomads. In the country more than 50 such farms have already been built, and by 1978, their number will reach 1,200.

In the People's Republic of the Congo, as was stated by the recently foully murdered president of the country, Marien Ngouabi, "in the agrarian sector

to which the greatest importance is being given, the efforts of the Congolese Labor Party (PCT) are aimed at setting up cooperatives, as this in the nearest future will provide the best conditions for moving on to the collective working of the land and the gradual bringing of the rural masses from a feudal consciousness to a proletarian and socialist consciousness."<sup>3</sup>

In Ethiopia, the most important measure which has been carried out during the last 3 years since the victory of the national democratic revolution has been the destruction of the cruel feudal system and the liberation of 25 million peasants from brutal exploitation. The law for the abolishment of feudal landowning has provided millions of hectares of land for the poor and small peasantry, and has freed them from the heavy debts and cruel rent. Along with the elimination of feudal landowning and the distribution of land to the peasants, associations have been set up for the joint working of the land, and this is a prerequisite for the formation of cooperatives.

In Angola and Mozambique, important changes are also being carried out in agriculture. The main efforts are aimed at setting up cooperatives which encompass predominantly the rural poor. The large farms which belonged primarily to the Portuguese comprise the basis for state ownership in the countryside.

The agrarian reforms and the cooperative reorganization of the African countryside have encountered extremely great obstacles due to the backwardness, the absence of material and financial means and specialists, as well as due to the resistance of reactionary elements and the conservatism of a significant portion of the peasantry. But a number of leaders in these countries correctly emphasize that there is only one path of putting agriculture on a cooperative basis.

Substantial changes are also occurring in the industry of the countries with a socialist orientation. In the first place, large capitalist property, both foreign and local, is being nationalized. On the basis of nationalized plants, factories, banks, insurance companies, mines and wholesale trade, a state sector is being created which in certain countries has become the dominant one. In Guinea, there are no longer any large enterprises which belong completely to the foreign monopolies. In the People's Republic of the Congo, all new foreign capital investments are possible only on a joint basis, combined with state capital. And the PCT Program envisages the nationalization of all property which is of interest to society. Such a policy provides significant advantages for the developing countries, because it increases budget receipts, provides an opportunity to train national cadres, and creates the prerequisites for the full nationalization of large properties.

A number of nations such as Tanzania, Somali, Guinea and even Angola and Mozambique have attained such nationalization that the state sector is the dominant one in industry and banking. Particularly great attention has been paid recently to control of natural riches in order to protect them against predatory plundering.

In the countries with progressive regimes, a significant place has been given to the problems of industrialization. In relying on the aid of the socialist countries and primarily the USSR, these nations in a short period of time have been able to build very important industrial projects, and these are becoming a sound basis for further building up the material and technical base of the new social system.

In the aim of providing a normal production process and for correctly allocating the productive forces, the national economy is being developed according to planning principles in all the countries with revolutionary democratic regimes. Short- and long-term planning programs are being worked out, and these are already producing results. In spite of the fact that they are not always completely fulfilled, and for this there are many objective and subjective reasons, only in this manner can these countries solve their socioeconomic problems.

In bearing in mind the weak material and technical base and the meager financial means which they possess, as well as the rapidly growing demands of the population, it is becoming ever more apparent that economic integration among these countries is essential both for uniting their technical and economic possibilities, as well as for a collective defense against the various intrigues of imperialism.

The democratization of sociopolitical life is an important question which the progressive forces are presently solving in the nations with a socialist orientation. Precisely the democratization of sociopolitical life and the involving of the workers in the administration of the nation provide a strong social support of power, and guarantee it against eventual counter-revolutionary coups and other undesirable actions.

In this regard, much has been done in recent years. In almost all the nations, new constitutions have been approved providing for the participation of the workers in national government. Elections have been held for the central and local governmental bodies. In Somali, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, Ethiopia and elsewhere, revolutionary democratic organs of power have been created or are in the process of being created.

The broadening democratization of sociopolitical life releases the creative initiative of the masses. In Somali, a broad movement for mutual aid is developing in constructing roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, children's institutions and housing on a volunteer basis. The enthusiasm of the youth is particularly great. It is in the front ranks of the competition which has started up for fulfilling the national economic plans.

The profound socioeconomic, political and cultural transformations in the nations with progressive regimes indicate that these countries are rapidly shaking free of the onerous heritage of colonialism, they are developing the productive forces and are making headway on the path of social progress.

### 3. The Revolutionary Democratic Parties--The Leading Force of the African Revolution

The progressive changes in the African countries are being carried out under conditions of an acute class struggle. This is occurring in different forms, and is waged by various means, and at times becomes a civil war. The victory of the modern African revolution depends upon the solidarity of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist forces. The communists and the revolutionary democrats play a major role in uniting these forces.

At present the revolutionary democratic parties are the most mass-based form of political organization for the progressive and patriotic forces in Tropical and Southern Africa. Some of them were founded even before the winning of national independence and their coming to power has been a natural result of the extended struggle for liberation. This has been the case of the Guinean Democratic Party, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU), the Party for Independence in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIC), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and others. Others have been created in the struggle for strengthening national independence and the acceptance of a socialist orientation. This has been the case of the Congolese Labor Party (PCT), the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin (NRB), the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, and others.

Ordinarily, the revolutionary democratic parties are created on the basis of national liberation fronts. The participants in these broad alliances, regardless of their differing social origin and their ideological and political affiliation, work jointly in the sake of a common aim of liberating the country.

The revolutionary democrats are the patriots and fighters for national rebirth, and decisive opponents of tyranny, reaction and stagnation. They are in favor of the revolutionary transformation of social life. Their ideology, the methods of struggle and concepts of the class and organizational structure of the political organizations led by them have been shaped in the struggle against the domestic and foreign enemy.

These organizations have already shown their positive role in a number of nations of the designated region. A great deal has been done by them for strengthening national independence, for the economic and social renewal of society, and for the ideological and organizational growth of the parties themselves.

It is particularly important to consider the success which these parties have achieved in elaborating political-ideological concepts and in their organizational strengthening. This has been the result of the ideological evolution of the revolutionary democrats themselves. This is expressed in the ever closer rapprochement of revolutionary democratic ideology with scientific socialism. In a number of countries, Marxism-Leninism has been

officially recognized as the ideological basis of the governing revolutionary democratic parties. Article 3 of the PCT Charter states that "the theoretical basis by which the PCT is led is Marxism-Leninism."<sup>4</sup> The worker-peasant party which was created by the third FRELIMO Congress recognizes the principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide for action, and has set the goal of building socialism.<sup>5</sup> In Somali, the Revolutionary Socialist Party which has been formed also recognizes Marxism-Leninism as its theoretical basis. The People's Revolutionary Party in Benin at its extraordinary congress in 1976, in the program document, stated that "we must become a true revolutionary party basing its actions on the Marxist-Leninist ideology considering the historical conditions of Africa and the NRB."<sup>6</sup>

The chairman of the MPLA in Angola, A. Neto, has stated definitely that in the autumn of 1977, at the MPLA congress, a vanguard party of the working class will be formed, and this will be guided by Marxism-Leninism.<sup>7</sup> In Ethiopia, particularly after the elimination of the counterrevolutionary elements from the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), preparations have been made for creating a political party relying on the proletariat and led by the principles of scientific socialism. "The aim of revolutionary Ethiopia," stated the chairman of the PMAC, Mengistu Haile Mariam, "is socialism. No attempts by the revolutionary forces will deflect it from the chosen path."<sup>8</sup>

The changes which are occurring in the revolutionary democratic parties also relate to their organizational and social structure. For their organizational strengthening, these parties more and more widely are employing the principles on which the communist parties are built. In social terms, they are being turned into parties of the working class.

In bearing in mind the youth of these parties a number of weaknesses still exists in their structure and organization. Regardless of this, in recent years a very healthy process has been carried out in them. Most essential is the fact that the social composition has been improved, systematic purges have been carried out, and the work of the ideological and political indoctrination of the members has been strengthened.

The process of rearming the revolutionary democrats and the parties led by them with socialist ideas is still slow and at times torturous. There are many reasons for this. The ideas of socialism are being disseminated in a society which still does not have a sufficiently clearly expressed class differentiation. The old concepts and misconceptions and the remnants of intertribal, caste and religious differences have not been overcome. In many instances the party and state leaders themselves, due to a lack of experience in the planned and purposeful leadership of the sociopolitical process, impede the workers and themselves from being rearmed with the ideas of scientific socialism.

Serious difficulties are also created by the Maoists who influence certain ideologically vacillating leaders, as well as the Socialist International which is searching for groups among which it can spread its influence.

The particular harm of this process can be seen in the attempts of the revolutionary democrats to skip over stages of socioeconomic development, to hurry or speed up the revolutionary process, without having the necessary subjective and objective prerequisites for this.

The 1969 Moscow Conference of Communists and Workers Parties gave high praise to the revolutionary democratic parties in the developing countries, and defined the line of conduct of the communist parties for them. The basic document states: "...the interests of social progress of the peoples in the recently liberated countries require close cooperation between the communist parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces."<sup>9</sup>

There is no doubt that the further activities of these parties to a great degree will be determined by the growing influence of the ideas of scientific socialism, and by the help which they will receive both from the communist parties and the Marxist elements in their nations, as well as by the communist parties of the socialist and developed capitalist countries and by the entire international communist movement.

#### 4. Scientific Socialism on the Offensive

The process of the unification of scientific socialism with the workers movement in the countries of Tropical and Southern Africa, in excluding the Republic of South Africa, has begun to be carried out significantly later than in Asia and Latin America. Indicative is the fact that in this region which has more than 40 states, there are only four communist parties. These are the Communist Party of the Republic of South Africa, the African Party of Independence in Senegal, the Nigerian Worker-Peasant Socialist Party and the Communist Party of Lesotho. However, this does not exhaust the influence of the communist movement in this region. It must be kept in mind that at present, in all the nations there are Marxists. Ordinarily they participate or are members in the revolutionary democratic parties or fronts, or have been organized in circles or groups.

Although the communists are well aware of the role of an independent party, at times the concrete situation demands that they not begin building such a party. Communists remain at work in the people's democratic parties or fronts for the sake of maintaining the unity of the national liberation forces. The communists in a number of countries of this region adhere to this policy. In the first place, they are aware of the great backwardness, the weak class differentiation, and the great heterogeneity of the small army of hired labor. Secondly, and this is particularly important, they proceed from the circumstance that the working class is comparatively little developed. In a number of states, it is still a "class in itself." Its share is scarcely 5-7 percent of the active population. The industrial proletariat is also small.

The liberation of the African countries has provided an opportunity to develop the productive forces more rapidly. And in fact the commenced



industrialization and the effect of the scientific and technical revolution have led to a rapid increase in the size of the industrial proletariat and the entire army of hired labor. This is of great significance because it is related to the greater role of the proletariat in sociopolitical life and the turning of it into the leading force in society.

The presence of a significantly developed, proletarian army will favor the spread of socialist ideas and the formation of communist parties. It can be said with certainty that at present in Tropical and Southern Africa there is an intensive propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas. These are received by the workers mainly through the activities of the revolutionary democratic parties as well as from the communist parties, circles and groups themselves. All of this occurs under the conditions of an acute, ideological struggle. Depending upon the predominating ethical, religious, patriarchal and other prejudices, the number of workers who are accepting the ideas of scientific socialism is growing. The very process of the unification of scientific socialism with the workers movement is being carried out in different forms, rates and scales.

The formation of communist parties is also being delayed due to the presence of reactionary regimes in certain countries, as well as due to still surviving anti-communism. Even the presently existing parties are illegal or semilegal. In spite of the difficult conditions, the youth and inexperience of a majority of them, they are fighting for the spread of socialist ideas, for their ideological and organizational strengthening, and for a deepening of the revolutionary process.

The Senegalese African Independence Party is directing its efforts at creating a front of the national and democratic forces, for eliminating the existing reactionary regime, and for achieving full national independence. The consistent progressive policy of this party, although having to overcome great difficulties caused by the splitting leftist-extremist groups, has forced the ruling circles to express a readiness to legalize it. However, this has not been done due to the unacceptable conditions of President Senghor.

The Nigerian Socialist Worker-Peasant Party is defending the unity of the country against the attempts of imperialism to split it. At the same time, it is struggling for a socialist orientation of Nigeria. The Communist Party of Lesotho is struggling for the right of a legal existence, for the elimination of the neocolonialist regime, and for the creation of a government of national independence and social progress.

The activities of the South African Communist Party are of great significance for the communist movement in Africa. It is the oldest and most tested fighter in the struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism. It provides constant help to the other communist parties and Marxists on the entire African continent. The South African Communist Party is a loyal detachment of the international communist movement.

The development of the revolutionary process in Tropical and Southern Africa will depend largely upon to what degree, where there are no communist parties, the Marxists will succeed in spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the growing working class, revolutionary democracy and the parties and national liberation fronts led by it. This is presently one of the most important and urgent questions.

Under the present conditions of the stage for a socialist orientation among the young national states, the Marxists have an influence through the trade unions, youth organizations, the movements for the emancipation of women, organizations of the progressive officer class, and others.

The Marxist-Leninists in the countries of Tropical and Southern Africa see their historic task in constantly disclosing the vital force of scientific socialism, of showing its scientific nature, and helping through the unity and struggle of consistent revolutionary democracy, the working class, the peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to assume the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Otchet na TsK na KPSS i Prestoyashtite Zadachi na Partiyata vuv Vutreshnata i Vunshnata Politika" [Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy], Partizdat, 1976, p 18.
2. Ibid., p 17.
3. PROBLEMI NA MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 5, 1975, p 126.
4. "Parti Congolais du Travail. Statue 1970," p 8.
5. PRAVDA, 5 Feb 1977.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., October 1976.
8. Ibid., 7 Mar 1977.
9. "Zadachite na Borбата Sreshtu Imperializma na Suvremenniya Etap i Edinstvoto..." [The Tasks of the Struggle Against Imperialism at the Present Stage and Unity...], pp 32-33.

10272

CSO: 2200

'TRIBUNA' STRESSES NEED FOR UNITY, INTERNATIONALISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No. 34, 24 Aug 77 p 15

[Text] The Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties which took place in June 1976, stressed that at present the role of international solidarity of communists and all revolutionary and democratic forces is increasing.

It was no coincidence that already during preparations for the conference, when communists debated complex problems regarding the improvement of previous forms of proletarian solidarity and the elaboration of new forms, a planned anticommunist campaign against internationalism had begun to take shape. That campaign was and remains directed against mutual relationships among the communist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries.

Unity of Goals

The objective conditions of their activities are understandably diverse. Because of this, the policy in regard to some issues also differs. It is understandable, for example, that when determining basic directions in the struggle for socialism, the fraternal parties of Western Europe take into consideration specific situations in their own countries. But this does not mean in the least that "different" kinds of communism exist. It does not at all divide the European workers' and communist movement into separate, mutually incompatible parts, as bourgeois propaganda always insists.

The unity of basic interests and goals of all national branches of the working class and its revolutionary parties is given by the objective laws governing the development of the world revolutionary process.

First, within the international context, the historical mission of the working class is unaffected by the fact that individual parts of the international workers' movement are at various levels of development. There is no such thing as a dual historical mission of the working class--for example, one for the working class in the socialist countries, another for the working class in the nonsocialist countries. Historical perspective erases qualitative

differences during its implementation, since they are based only on the method of individual problem solution in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Second, socialism of the kind in which it has realistically existed in the world since the October revolution is--as is emphasized even by representatives of communist parties of nonsocialist countries--the worldwide attainment of the entire international working class. It is the success not only of parties which are in power in the socialist countries, but also of the revolutionary proletarian organizations throughout the whole world. Socialism personifies a realistic perspective of social development for workers in capitalist countries. It is a patent example of their own socialist future.

#### Relation to Realistic Socialism

The relationship toward victorious socialism is a significant issue of principle in the theory and practice of internationalism. Historical experience proves that effective revolutionary policy cannot exist if it does not contain solidarity with realistic socialism of our time, and principled ideological and political struggle against those who are trying to liquidate its attainments and discredit it in the eyes of the masses. Otherwise all inevitably turns against the interests of the workers' movement and its organization and against national interests, especially during violent historical upheavals, in difficult moments of the workers' struggle for democracy and social progress. As Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L.I. Brezhnev, stressed at the Berlin conference: Soviet communists, together with communists of other socialist countries, are deeply grateful to their comrades in capitalist countries who supported them not only at difficult moments in history, but also in periods of peaceful work. "For our part, we are always supportive of the struggle waged by our class brothers in the capitalist camp. We try to support them both morally and politically," stressed Comrade Brezhnev.

Such mutual solidarity not only does not reject the independence of each party but on the contrary postulates it. In the closing document of the Berlin conference, the participants stressed that communists will continue to develop their international cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the ideas of scientific communism, consistently observe the principle of equality and independence of each party, and respect their freedom in choosing various roads in the struggle for progressive social changes and for socialism.

#### The Question of "Internationalism"

Anti-communist ideologists crudely twist the thesis of international solidarity accepted at the Berlin conference. They spread false rumors about an effort to form within the international communist movement some kind of a "directional center" which would restrict the initiatives and independence of communist parties.

In reality this rumor is completely without basis. As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his speech at the Berlin conference: No one in the communist movement

is promoting ideas about creation of a new organizational center. The conference again proved the indisputable fact that the communist movement does not contain "superior" and "subordinate" parties; none is trying to obtain a special position. All communist parties are equal and answer only to the working class and to the masses of their countries. The international solidarity of communists is based on beliefs which they hold in common and on the organic fusion of their national and international interests.

While anti-communist propaganda is spreading rumors about a new communist "Internationale," practically all forces hostile to communists are, in fact, creating their own individual "internationales." If we examine the positions of various forces, ranging from the Right to the extreme Left, we shall soon see that each of them is trying to consolidate at the international level and at the same time is directing attacks against the international unity of communists.

First of all, there is the "black internationale." Its existence is beyond doubt. As the paper L'HUMANITE wrote, a special kind of "Common Market" of fascism exists in West Europe, about which no one talks openly, but which is real nevertheless. It is not necessary to point out that the primary motive for the international grouping of neo-fascists is anti-communism.

The same motive is the reason for the unification of right-wing conservatives, represented by Christian Democrats and parties with a similar orientation. In 1976 a "European Intra-Party Conference" attended by such parties from 11 countries convened in Copenhagen. At this conference it was decided to form a European democratic union--a broad association of West European reaction which even the press characterized as a bourgeois internationale.

In the interest of brevity we shall not mention the social liberals (who, incidentally, also have their own political "Internationales"). Turning then to the social democrats, we can easily see that also in their case an internationally coordinated policy, which has strict organizational forms, is being developed. At the last 12th Congress of Socialist Internationale measures were approved for the strengthening of the bureau and secretariat of this organization. Moreover, these were assigned the responsibility to coordinate the international activity of social democrats. It is known that in accord with obligations of its members, the Socialist Internationale has recently undertaken coordinated activities in Greece, Portugal, developing countries, etc.

Finally, let us examine leftist extremism. Here also revived contacts among the organizations of various countries are evident. Their "international strategy" is aimed primarily against socialism and the communist movement. One of the leaders of Trotsky's Fourth Internationale, E. Mandel, explains this orientation by stating that today its followers are offered "an opportunity to change the world's destiny," and that this organization is "the essence of a future communist mass Internationale."

This is the reality of the "internationales." The problem of internationales has been resolved as far as the communist movement is concerned and no one has any desire to revive it. Ideological enemies of communism allege that communists are exerting efforts to form some kind of "directional center"; they make these allegations in order to weaken international solidarity of the communists and at the same time to justify the strengthening of their own international centers which wage war against the communist movement.

### The Objective Necessity

Great pressure from enemies of proletarian solidarity against unity of the proletarian movement requires strengthening of this unity as well as resistance to anti-communist attacks against international solidarity. This double necessity stems from the growing internationalization of the class struggle. Never in the past have international and national problems been interwoven in the workers' movement itself and its relations with other social forces have not influenced each other as actively as at present. Never in the past have such sharp and many-sided ideological and political encounters developed both on a national and world-wide scale.

Documents from congresses of communist parties held recently and documents from the Berlin conference show that communists are aware of the complexity of the present situation and are capable of orienting themselves to it because they base their thinking on proletarian internationalism. At the present it is difficult to realize fully the significance of proletarian solidarity against the forces of international reaction. For communists, faithfulness to internationalism was and remains a vital necessity. It is an irreplaceable and most important prerequisite for a successful solution of their national and international tasks, for further strengthening of the communist movement and for the strengthening of its bond with other branches of workers' movement and all revolutionary and democratic forces which fight for peace and social progress.

9106

CSO: 2400

BISHOP'S RETURN SHOWS EASING OF CHURCH-STATE TENSIONS

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 17 Jul 77 p 2

[Text] Prague, 5 July 1977--Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, apostolic administrator of Prague, has returned to the Czech capital after a several weeks' sojourn in Rome. This week he gave a formal reception for the more important government representatives in the archdiocesan palace near Hradcany Castle. Such an event has not occurred in Prague since World War II. After returning from Rome he also ordained as priests 24 deacons from Bohemia and Moravia. The first consecration took place on Saturday, 2 July, the second on Sunday, 3 July 1977.

All this indicates a certain decrease in tensions between the church and the state in the CSSR. In the first weeks of July, Father John Bukovsky, a close associate of Archbishop Cassaroli, came from Rome to visit six Czechoslovak dioceses that have no regular bishop at present. On his return to Rome he gave a very detailed report to the Pope. Another indication of relaxation was the government's assent to Bishop Tomasek's travel to Rome where he was to receive his cardinal's hat and witness the canonizing of Bishop Newmann. The Czech ambassador to Rome went as far as giving a reception and congratulating Tomasek on his elevation to the cardinalship. The reception was attended by high-ranking representatives of the Holy See as well as the diplomatic representatives of all Eastern European countries with the exception of the Albanians and the Vietnamese [sic].

The observers point to yet another sign of relaxation on the part of the state, namely, the fact that eight Czech Franciscan nuns were granted passports to attend the general assembly of their order in Rome. A passport with a re-entry visa was last granted to a nun in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago.

In Rome it is said that the prerequisite for normalization of relationships between the church and state is state recognition of bishops in all dioceses. In this respect there is still much disorder in Czechoslovakia. Out of 13 dioceses, eight are without a bishop and two are administered by apostolic administrators. Only three ecclesiastic administrative units have their regular leader, namely, the dioceses in Banska Bystrica and Nitra in Slovakia

and the apostolic administration in Trnava near Bratislava. In Prague proper there has been no archbishop for 20 years. The last archbishop appointed by the Pope, Josef Beran, was interned in some Czech village by the government. In February 1965 the Pope appointed him a cardinal. He was allowed to go to Rome but on the airplane he was informed that he would not be allowed to return. Thus he died in Rome in 1969. Since that time the Archdiocese of Prague has been administered by Tomasek but he has never been recognized by the government as archbishop.

12070

CSO: 2800



SED ORGAN REVIEWS POST-MAO POLICY OF PRC

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 77 p 6 AU

[Article by Franz Knipping and Peter Burschik: "Maoist Policy After Mao--On Some Results of the 11th CCP Congress"]

[Text] A few weeks ago, in the period 12-18 August, the 11th CCP Congress convened in Peking. It was officially reported that "1,510 representatives of more than 35 million party members" approved the Central Committee's political report delivered by Central Committee Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the report on changes in the party statute delivered by Yeh Chien-ying, vice chairman of the Central Committee, and heard the concluding speech of Teng Hsiao-ping, vice chairman of the Central Committee. The party congress adopted a political resolution, passed a new statute for the CCP and elected a Central Committee consisting of 201 members and 132 candidate members. The First Central Committee Plenum appointed, among other things, a Politburo consisting of 23 members and 3 candidate members and a Standing Committee of the Politburo consisting of the Central Committee chairman and his four deputies.

It is understandable that the 11th CCP Congress received wide attention not only in the country itself but also among the world public. One expected from this event, which took place just about a year after the death of Mao Tse-tung and a few months after the elimination of the Gang of Four which had been closely linked with him, more precise information about the future goals and intentions of the current Chinese leadership. What course will it adopt in view of the difficult legacy Mao Tse-tung has left behind in all fields--in the party and in economic, domestic and foreign policy? In the months since Mao Tse-tung's death it has been proved objectively--and the struggle against the "Gang of Four" made it particularly clear once more--that the Maoist line has so far led to an extraordinary aggravation of the social and political contradictions in the country. Production dropped and the disproportions in the national economy grew. Ever new disturbances enveloped all spheres of social life. The people were tired of the constant destructive campaigns. The discontent of the working people over their situation grew increasingly.

In foreign policy, too, the Maoist leadership had to suffer serious reverses. Contrary to the constant propaganda on the necessity to prepare for an

imminent war, a change from "Cold War" to detente took place in international relations. The Chinese leadership's violent anti-Sovietism was unable to change this in any way. The further expansion of cooperation with the most reactionary forces of imperialism increased the reservations about and distrust of China in many countries.

This situation dictated the most urgent questions the party congress should have objectively answered and which explain the considerable interest in its results.

What is the basis of and the main direction along which the future domestic and foreign policy of China will be shaped?

What is the role assigned to China in the epoch-making struggle between socialism and imperialism?

Which side do the leaders of the world's most populous country intend to join on the decisive vital question of humanity--war or peace?

The study of the materials of the party congress unfortunately show that there has been no change in the fundamental orientation of the Chinese leadership.

As the documents published since then by the Chinese press manifest, the party congress insistently affirmed an emphatic profession of loyalty not only to the person and role of Mao Tse-tung but also to his theories, and primarily to the strategic main line of making China the decisive world center by fanning contradictions, tensions and military conflicts, particularly between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The clearest proof of this is the stipulation that priority be given to the struggle against the USSR and that the United States be termed less dangerous and, temporarily, even an ally. "Soviet social imperialism represents the greatest danger...our principled polemics with the Soviet Union will be continued for a long time. We stick to waging a frontal struggle against its hegemonism," announced the political report of the Central Committee. Contrary to this, at least formally, the United States was listed before the Soviet Union among the two main enemies as late as at the 10th party congress in 1973. The new party statute stipulates "for a longer historical period" tasks which mean the struggle against the Soviet Union and splitting activities in the international communist movement.

In these tasks the militant anti-Sovietism which gave the 11th CCP Congress as a whole its characteristic feature comes clearly to the fore. In the political report of the Central Committee, Hua Kuo-feng grossly slandered the USSR's social system and domestic and foreign policy and presented a completely distorted picture of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations during the last few years. He made no mention of the Soviet Union's numerous initiatives for normalizing relations. Instead, he again tried to frighten the Chinese people with the fairy tale of a "Soviet threat."

As far as domestic political developments are concerned, the 11th party congress could not but take a stand on some of the most acute contradictions. In the interests of the goals it posed, it had to make allowance for a few requirements for stabilizing the domestic situation. It was therefore declared that the "first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," which lasted 11 years, had been "victoriously ended" and that a "new period of China's development has begun." It is now necessary to bring about a "transition from the great disorder to great order," to "tackle the main link in the chain and to put the country in order." This requires, as the Central Committee's political report stressed, that there be "a new leap forward in the national economy," that "order in the ranks of the party...be brought about," and that there be "stability and unity," "centralism and discipline." Further, it demanded that there be "a reorganization of the party and of the leading bodies at all levels of the party" and that they be reconstructed.

All these utterances indicate that the Peking leadership is obviously striving for a more stable domestic political and, particularly, economic situation and that it intends to achieve this, while referring to corresponding Mao slogans, by pragmatic means and methods. These general appeals, however, are not based on scientific analysis or on a social orientation in the spirit of socialism to bring about an increase in the Chinese people's material and cultural living standards on the basis of an accelerated development of the material base. They constitute a mixture of extremely Maoist tenets and a few tasks which are unavoidable in the interests of stabilization, a compromise of different concepts on the ways and means of attaining the goals proclaimed by the party congress.

The party congress neither adjudged in a principled manner the failure of Maoist policy, nor did it proclaim a clear socioeconomic program. Teng Hsiao-ping, vice chairman of the Central Committee, noted in his concluding speech regarding the domestic situation: "There are still many questions we must solve and many difficulties we must overcome." Practice will show what will be done, how it will be done, and what the results will be.

As by the aggravation of the hostility toward the USSR indicates, the 11th party congress expressed itself much more clearly and resolutely on foreign policy than on the unmastered legacy of Mao Tse-tung in domestic affairs. The people judge the course of the 11th party congress primarily by its answer to the key question of our time: war or peace, rearmament or disarmament, tension or detente. In keeping with the Chinese leadership's statements in the entire past period, Hua Kuo-feng reaffirmed that a world war was unavoidable. It is entirely in this spirit that the task is posed "to advance the preparations for war" and "make every effort to strengthen scientific-technical research and the production of the armaments industry, as well as to raise the equipment of our army to a new level."

In other words, the militarization of the country, which is already eating up more than 40 percent of all budget funds, is to be stepped up and continued. Mao Tse-tung's instructions "to create not only a strong army but also a strong air force and navy," "to dig deep tunnels and to set up grain stocks

everywhere," and similar ones serve as a guiding motive. In view of this orientation, one arrives at the question whether "the great order," "stability and unity," "centralism and discipline" are not to be implemented primarily to insure the intensified war preparations. Some foreign commentators point out that there is also a possible connection between the increasing militarization and the fact that more than half of all members and candidate members of the Politburo are military cadres.

The assessment of the international situation by the Peking leadership and its international activity are marked by anti-detente. The world situation is regarded as "particularly favorable," because "in addition to a further increase in the factors of revolution there is also a noticeable increase in the factors of war." In this spirit the party congress issued an appeal that "the peoples of all countries enhance their vigilance, join closely together and make good preparations." The preparations for war, which were already the central theme of the 9th and 10th party congresses, were again elevated to the most important foreign political task by the 11th party congress.

Still, it is becoming clear that even the Chinese leadership cannot blithely ignore the successes of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries or the Chinese people's love for peace. They had to admit that war is most deeply contrary to the will of the peoples. Hua Kuo-feng said: "The peoples of the whole world pine for peace, and the Chinese people, too, desire a peaceful international situation." For this reason, there was also a change in the tenet of the unavoidability of war and its outbreak in the near future. In this connection, the report notes, among other things: "If the peoples of all countries enhance their vigilance, join closer together, make good preparations, and wage an indefatigable struggle, there is a possibility of postponing the outbreak of war." However, the party congress had no answer to the question regarding the contribution the PRC intends to make to detente, disarmament and peace.

On the contrary, the guidelines of the foreign policy part of the political report not only ignore the main trend of current international development but are directed directly against it. This is attested to by the fact that all events are squeezed into the old pattern of "three worlds" stemming from Mao Tse-tung. This pattern denies the existence of world socialism and replaces the main contradiction of our time with the subjectivist course of the "struggle against the hegemonism of the superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States." Proceeding from this doctrine, which is termed the "scientific generalization of the strategic situation in the current world," the party congress derived the following foreign policy orientation: "We must ally ourselves with all those states which are subject to aggression, diversion, interference, control and oppression by imperialism and social imperialism and form with them the best possible united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States."

At their 11th party congress, too, the Chinese leaders did not retreat from their big-power chauvinist course directed against the interests of peace and socialism. On the contrary, they further intensified it. Using the

mendacious slogan of the struggle against a nonexistent "Soviet hegemonism," the Chinese leaders are trying to cover up their course of joining forces with the most reactionary forces of imperialism.

Hu Kuo-feng tried to justify the striving for a further drawing closer to the United States on the basis of anti-Sovietism by the need "to simultaneously win as many allies as possible." During U.S. Secretary of State Vance's visit to China after the 11th party congress, both sides expressed their "mutual understanding" and consistent "common interests," which refers primarily to reducing the influence of genuine socialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There are also common interests regarding maintenance of the United States' military presence and expansion of the system of American military bases in Asia, the Indian Ocean and Europe. U.S. President Carter, speaking on 17 March 1977 before the United Nations, referred to the "parallel strategic interests" of the United States and the PRC.

The Chinese leaders' cooperation with imperialist forces entails a great danger for peace and for all peoples of the world. For this very reason the reactionary forces believe that they can bet more strongly on the Chinese card. Peking's policy directly strengthens these circles in their struggle against peaceful coexistence. They conspire with the Chinese leaders to gain temporary advantages in their struggle against the Soviet Union and in the worldwide class struggle as a whole. In turn they are directly asked by Peking to intensify the arms race and to sabotage detente. A situation has arisen in which every side prompts the other to pull its chestnuts out of the fire. For the imperialists the Chinese leadership is to restrict the Soviet Union's room to maneuver, whereas Peking wants to get imperialism to touch off a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe while acting like the man sitting on the mountain observing the fight between the tigers in the valley.

With the 11th party congress renewing the claim that "the Soviet Union is striving for expansion" and is "the greater danger," the Chinese leaders are trying to free certain imperialist circles from their responsibility for sabotaging the worldwide process of detente. They are thus actually supporting the actions of the most reactionary circles of American imperialism to develop new, even more dangerous weapons systems and mass destruction weapons, such as, for example, the neutron bomb, on which no critical word has yet emanated from the PRC. The new leaders of the PRC are thus assuming a heavy responsibility for accelerating a new round of the arms race.

At the same time the 11th party congress directed to realistically thinking politicians of the West the adventurous appeal to discontinue the policy of detente. It was stated at the party congress: "In the West there is a trend toward pacification, and there are illusions about preserving peace with the aid of a compromise." This is how the Peking leaders try to pit the NATO powers against the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

In view of the experiences of two world wars, responsible people have great difficulty understanding a policy directed at fanning new tensions and the outbreak of new wars. As the 29 communist and workers parties reaffirmed at the Berlin conference in June 1976, the main issue is the following: "To lastingly insure detente, to further deepen and expand it. The decisions adopted in Helsinki must be supported and underpinned by the struggle of the people's masses for their complete implementation, for halting and pushing back the reactionary forces who reject the results of the CSCE and who try to frustrate the course directed at detente and the security of the peoples."

In addition to their orientation toward open struggle against the USSR, against the entire socialist community of states, the Chinese leadership again revealed at the 11th party congress its intention to continue its policy of differentiating individual socialist countries with the goal of splitting the socialist community. The fraternal socialist countries are to be won over to the united front in the struggle against the Soviet Union for which the Chinese leaders are striving. This hides the renewed attempt to pass off anti-Sovietism as exclusively directed against the CPSU and the USSR.

The peoples of the Socialism community have joined together in accordance with objective, law-governed processes and because of their national and international responsibility for socialism and peace. They will continue their advance along this sole correct road of fraternal cooperation and alliance all the more purposefully because of the successes of their joint, coordinated cooperation are proving decisive for every country, for the entire community and for the peoples. Peking's attempts at differentiation will be frustrated by this joint will and by the objective necessities.

The political report of the CCP congress states: "We must establish and develop relations with all states on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence." It further assures: "We have never interfered in the domestic policy of other states." Peking's actual policy, however, contradicts these declarations. The Chinese leaders have still not accepted the USSR's repeatedly submitted offer to develop normal good-neighbor relations with the PRC. They harshly rejected all Soviet proposals for the peaceful settlement of existing problems. Moreover, Peking's incessant campaign of slander against the USSR, the other states of the socialist community and its collective organs, CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, is by no means proof of the proclaimed intention to respect the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

A policy of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in internal affairs also requires respect for the sovereignty and integrity of the other states. Up to now, however, the Chinese leadership continues to nourish the illusion of revanchist forces in the FRG who still do not want to accept the existence of the socialist GDR. In the recent past, in particular, there has been ample proof of the PRC's direct interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, for example, in Angola, Zaire and Ethiopia. The main goal of

the Chinese leaders in this connection is to fan conflicts and to bring the developing countries, under the cover of the "struggle against hegemonism," into opposition to the socialist countries and to keep them from the struggle against imperialism, racism and apartheid. With their policy of intentionally disorienting the developing countries in the framework of the "three worlds" theory, the Chinese leaders are playing directly into the hands of imperialism and are hindering the national liberation struggle. Their actions are in complete contradiction to the statement in the political report that the PRC is supporting "the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations."

Instead of actually fighting against colonialism and reaction, the Chinese leadership is professing its solidarity with reactionary regimes. One of the many examples which has become known recently is the statement by the PRC ambassador to Chile on his government's desire to comprehensively develop relations with the fascist junta. This is in accordance with the orientation reaffirmed at the party congress: to increase China's joining together "with all forces which can be won over" in order to form the "best possible united front" against the Soviet Union under Chinese leadership.

The 11th party congress documents and the Peking leadership's actions have answered the question as to the status and goal of Chinese foreign policy in the period after Mao. The words and deeds leave not the shadow of a doubt that it is a concept dictated by the striving for hegemony, a concept which is antisocialist and antirevolutionary, directed against peace and detente, and which naturally will encounter rejection all over the world.

China's policy can gain a respected place in the world and among all peace-loving peoples only if China's leadership turns to positions of peace, security and social and national progress. In this spirit the Ninth SED Congress, in the Central Committee report, proclaimed the readiness of the GDR "to normalize relations with China in accordance with the principles of equal rights, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference and other principles of international law.... Should China return to a policy which is really founded on Marxism-Leninism, give up its hostile course against the socialist countries and embark on the road of cooperation and solidarity with the world of socialism, this will meet with a corresponding response on our side."

CSO: 2300

CEAUSESCU'S POLICY IS SAID TO CREATE MORE UNREST

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 23 Sep 77 p 4 DW

[Eduard Neumaier Article]

[Text] It will be difficult in the future for Nicolae Ceausescu to find new scapegoats for the shortcomings in Romania. According to a Philippic of ten thousand words given to some hundred agitation propagandists of the communist party, 22 million people are responsible for the economic, ideological and political shortcomings, except the only one--the eminence.

Ceausescu charged that the party functionaries have been propagating "revolutionary humanism" in an insufficient way, and that they have not exerted sufficient influence on the Germans who wanted to expatriate, urging them to stay in the country. The press and other media are supposed to "generalize positive experience" instead of "stressing negative aspects." It is better to "broadcast nothing instead of presenting films and plays in our press, radio, and television which are contradicting the revolutionary education of the people and the youth."

Ceausescu was milder in dealing with the ideology commission. The party chief criticized it mildly for "not coping with its responsibilities"--probably because he is the chairman of this commission. He criticized the "self-content" of the managers. The gentlemen have forgotten that they emanated "from the ranks of the workers."

Ceausescu, who is surrounding himself with all kinds of luxury and living in pompous residences, spoke of "anarchist consumption and of a petit-bourgeois and Boyar-like spirit." Ceausescu made another thrust into the Executive Committee, which can be compared with the Politburo of other communist parties, but which is bigger in Romania and has the power of an executive bureau. He said that 35 percent of all diseases have been caused by being overfed.

Some people consider the roundabout blow of the party chief the beginning of a new ideological offensive, which Ceausescu often demanded from the people, but it rather looks as if he were in considerable difficulty.



In August, Ceausescu had to go twice to striking miners in the southwest to calm them down. They were complaining about poor supply, miserable work conditions in the technically antiquated mines, and about the losses they were suffering in connection with the new pension law. Ceausescu complained to them about economic insufficiencies and about the fact that coal mining was lagging by millions of tons behind target figures, and that production in other economic fields was lagging behind too. And yet there exists disappointment not just among the miners; several strikes are said to have taken place in factories.

It seems that next to the dissatisfaction of workers the party chief obviously also must handle obstruction by the party. Ceausescu was justifying his industrialization policy to the Executive Committee, which is reliable evidence for resistance in highest party echelons. Ceausescu's plans to make the developing socialist country of Romania a developed state by 1990 met with doubts on the part of the broad masses and high party echelons. The plans are forcing the people to live in a Spartan way and to follow iron discipline--both are alien to the Levantine mentality of the Romanians.

In order to control the feelings of dissatisfaction, the party reluctantly planned to increase the growth rate of income by 30 percent compared with earlier 5-year plans (together with social achievements it will be even 45 percent). It improved the pension system and elevated pensions (up to 85 percent of wages).

A new censorship system was to be added to the alleviations: the old censorship system was lifted (its existence has been denied so far). Responsibilities were shifted from bureaucrats to "social groups" such as trade unions, representatives of national and local party publications, and the Association of Journalists--linking them in that way to the "self-responsibility" on the part of the journalists.

Ceausescu's criticism of the media demonstrates that the new censorship model does not function the way it was supposed to work. It is absurd to maintain that it promotes an unsocialist spirit, but it is quite possible that the media are criticizing too many things. They are doing what they always did, following the party and the praised model: Nicolae Ceausescu.

CSO: 2300

BIOGRAPHY OF JUSTIN, NEW ROMANIAN PATRIARCH

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 17 Jul 77 p 2

[Text] Bucharest, 14 June 1977--Last Sunday, Romania got a new patriarch. Justin Moisescu, metropolitan of Moldavia became the successor of Justinian and the fourth leader of the autonomous (autocephalic) and second largest Orthodox Church. The new head of the Romanian Orthodox Church was elected by the 120 member "electoral college" on the first ballot. This shows that the new patriarch is popular not only with the people but also with the authorities.

Participating in the elections were metropolitans, bishops, and special deputations from all the dioceses consisting of one-third of priests and two-thirds of laymen. Included among the electors were representatives of seminaries as well as three representatives of state authorities. In contrast with other socialist countries there is no separation of church and state in Romania.

Patriarch Justin is 67 years old. He was born in Cindesti near Muscel. His father, a teacher, was killed in World War I. When he was 12 he entered the seminary for needy children in Moisescu. There the leaders soon recognized his talent and assisted him in continuing his education. In 1934, he completed his studies at the theological faculty in Athens as a licentiate and left for Strassburg where he acquired detailed knowledge of Catholicism and Protestantism. In 1937, he returned to Athens to earn his doctorate in theology.

On his return to the homeland and still as a lay person he became instructor in a seminary. Prior to World War II, he became a professor of theology in Warsaw. After the war he again returned home. He lectured on the New Testament at the theological faculties of Suseavi and Bucharest.

It was relatively late when Justin decided on priesthood. His consecration as a deacon took place only in 1956. The following day he took his vows as a priest and was appointed metropolitan of Transylvania 3 days later. Before he was elevated to bishop he became a member of a holy order and, the following year, leader of the Moldavian diocese, a post which he held until this year.

The new Romanian patriarch is a sincere supporter of the ecumenical movement. The excellent relations which the Romanian Orthodox Church maintains with other religious communities must be attributed to his work. He actively participates in the Ecumenical Council of Churches and works hard on the preparations for the universal orthodox council.

Justin is also at home in the political circles. Because of the ties the Romanian Church maintains with the state such liasons are not only understandable but necessary. From the very beginning, Justin has been cooperating with the Socialist Unity Front and other political and cultural organizations where he is representing his Church. He has also been a deputy in the Parliament for several years.

Immediately after his election, Patriarch Justin became engaged in extensive projects of restoration and reconstruction. He will give special attention to the reconstruction of churches that were destroyed by the earthquake which damaged approximately 500 buildings of church property. He is equally committed to the internal revival of the Orthodox religion which today is almost impossible without ecumenic cooperation with other churches.

Almost 16 million believers belong to the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Church became independent in 1885 when it seceded from the Patriarchy of Constantinople.

The solemn inauguration held on 19 June 1977 was also attended by a delegation from the Vatican led by Cardinal Willebrands, president of the Secretariat of Christian Unity.

12070

CSO: 2800

• 'POLITIKA' REVIEWS EXPERIENCES IN JOINT VENTURES WITH FOREIGNERS

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 77 p 7 AU

[Report by Velizar Zecevic]

[Excerpts] In July this year it was 10 years since the coming into force of the original law on joint ventures between domestic and foreign investors. Over 200 accords have been concluded. Many factories in which joint capital was invested have acquired significant experiences and various shortcomings and omissions in the legal text have emerged, as well as difficulties in the mutual coordination of the interests and aspirations of domestic and foreign investors. However, the idea on joint ventures has not been disputed. It has been confirmed with the new constitution and the law on associated labor. It has been demonstrated that the possibility exists for investing foreign capital without any risk for the investor and without threatening our economic and political interest.

To the Market Through the Back Door

The 10 years of experience had a calming effect on the initial reactions in which there also were emotions and excitement on both sides. It did not take long to remove the fear that foreigners in bowler hats will overrun our existing and nonexistent factories. Nearly a year elapsed from the adoption of the law to the signing of the first accord. There was talk about difficulties in the transfer of foreign currency, about various understandings of profit, income residue and so forth. Foreign investors have shown the greatest readiness to invest in the existing plants and this meant that with relatively small funds they achieved great effects. With their small investments foreign firms had sometimes easily opened the door to the domestic market, while avoiding their responsibilities and cooperation in the export of good to third countries, making at the same time a great profit by the deliveries of raw materials and equipment to the domestic market.

However, foreigners also did not hurry to join joint undertakings. Most of them did not hurry to take advantage of the legal possibility to invest 49 percent of value into joint investments; their share does not amount to more than a fifth of the jointly invested funds. Of the total sum of

20 billion [presumably-dinars] of investments at the beginning of this year, foreigners provided not quite 4 billion. True, there were certain restrictions. It was not possible to invest in communal activities and health and, as usual, it was frequently claimed that the most attractive was precisely what was inaccessible.

However, there also exist other objections which foreign investors mentioned not without reason: The taxation of profit has experienced frequent changes and has not always been in accordance with the proclaimed desire not to threaten the interests of foreigners to such an extent that they simply cease to be to their benefit. Joint ventures are by their nature long-term forms of partnership between investors. The making of income on the one side and the profit on the other side takes years and various trials in the market most frequently do not bypass any one. The goals, however, must be clear in advance and, if they are justified from the economic and social point of view, it is logical that everything should be subordinate to their realization. Frequent changes of the regulations are least desirable in this respect, even if the changes, to all appearances, improve the position of both partners or only one of them. It is sufficient that only the tax rates on the profit of foreign partners change in one area of the country (republic or province) for the news about this to quickly spread throughout the world, creating the impression of instability in the very institution of joint ventures.

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END